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ABSTRACT

Observations from site visits in England and Wales and a limited review of the literature about bilingual education of young children, particularly of preschool age, are reported here. The current native language teaching situation in England and several related ongoing research projects are described, and English as a second language programs and several monolingual programs for preschool children that are relevant to the bilingual child are discussed. In Wales, bilingual education programs for Welsh-English-speaking children are found to be more common than in England. The importance of the early years for second language learning is emphasized in several research projects as well as in a nationwide movement for Welsh medium nursery schools and playgroups. Some aspects of the Welsh and English research and program design relating to the current situation in Sweden for educating young immigrant children are examined. (MSE)

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BILINGUAL EDUCATION OF YOUNG CHILDREN IN ENGLAND AND WALES

by

Lenore Arnberg

Linköping June 1982

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Sammanfattning (högst 150 ord)

A three-week study visit and a limited investigation of the literature provided valuable information about bilingual education of young children in England and Wales. This paper briefly describes the current situation in England with regard to mother tongue teaching as well as several ongoing research projects in this area. English as a second language programs and several monolingual schemes for preschool age children having relevance for the bilingual child are also discussed. In Wales, bilingual education programs, i.e., for Welsh-English-speaking children, are much more common than in England. The importance of the early years for second language learning is emphasized in severel research projects as well as in a nationwide movement for Welsh medium nursery schools and playgroups. Some aspects of the English and Welsh research and programming are discussed which relate to the currrent situation in Sweden regarding the education of young immigrant children.

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Bilingual education, English (second language), Preschool children, Early childhood education

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PREFACE

From September 1 - 18, 1981, a study visit to England and Wales was carried out during which time an attempt was made to learn as much as possible concerning the bilingual education of young children. This work was carried out as part of a larger project sponsored by the Swedish Delegation for Social Research. The project aims to investigate methods for the education of preschool bilingual children, both in the context of the home and pre-school, as well as to study the effects of home language playgroups for young children and mothers on the maintenance of the home language.

The author wishes to express her gratitude to the researchers, program directors, and teachers visited for the information provided as well as for comments on the initial draft. A special thanks is also extended to the Central Bureau for Educational Visits and Exchanges in London which provided valuable assistance in arranging visits in England. The author also wishes to thank Inga-Britta Åstedt, Socialstyrelsen, for her support of the project.

1. INTRODUCTION

The question of how to educate the linguistic minority group child is a highly controversial issue in many countries today, and there are no easy answers to be found. Despite the urgency and importance of this question in Sweden, rather little attention has been paid to curricula, materials, methods, policies, etc. in other countries which may shed light on some of the issues involved, provide suggestions concerning new ways of attacking problems and recommend areas needing further research. As an effort in this direction, the present paper describes some of the programs and research going on in England and Wales with regard to the education of young bilingual children. Due to the short duration of the visit, the report does not attempt to present a comprehensive picture of the situation in these countries but should be seen as a sampling of some of the work being carried out. Throughout the paper a rather liberal definition of the term "bilingual education" is used. Some programs for monolingual children are also included when these have relevance for the bilingual child.

The first section briefly describes the current situation in England. While Sweden's reaction to the special educational needs of the linguistic minority group child seems to have been mainly in the direction of providing mother tongue teaching, England has responded to these needs more by focusing on the multiethnic/multicultural issue and the teaching of the second language (i.e., English). Some authors, however, have argued that without incorporating the mother tongues of pupils in the classroom, a multicultural or multiethnic curriculum is only of limited value. Increasing attention is being paid to the issue of mother tongue teaching, among other reasons, as a result of an EEC Directive in 1977 concerning the teaching of immigrant pupils. Some of the reasons for the lack of mother tongue teaching programs are discussed. Although in some respects the situations in England and Sweden are difficult to compare, e.g., with regard to the position of English as an international language and the fact that many of England's "immigrants" are British subjects from former English colonies, in many respects the two countries share similar problems with regard to the question of providing mother tongue teaching. These are related to the difficulty of procuring teachers and teaching materials, the great diversity of languages being spoken by children, and the economic climate necessitating cutbacks in many educational and social programs.

When describing mother tongue as well as second language teaching programs

in England, it is important to note the policy of providing language teaching in the context of the mainstream classroom rather than "withdrawing" the child, which the child may associate with as having learning difficulties. This policy is illustrated by the notion of parallel texts used in several projects, i.e., teaching materials which are written in a number of minority languages, each with a parallel English version, for use in the mainstream classroom. (Such teaching materials were also observed in Australia). Four mother tongue projects are described which are in progress or have recently been completed. Some of the preliminary findings are of interest to the Swedish debate, e.g., the possible relation between the child's intelligence and his ability to handle the simultaneous acquisition of two languages during early childhood and the importance for the child's second language learning of interaction with other native speaking children. One project aims to survey the mother tongue teaching being provided by various private groups within the community in order to coordinate these activities with those of the schools. Such a survey would also be valuable in Sweden where we have only limited knowledge concerning organizations outside of the official sector providing mother tongue teaching. It is emphasized that the aim of such coordination is to improve mother tongue teaching for all children, not to relieve the schools of their responsibility in providing instruction in this area.

Several different programs for teaching English as a second language are described. A language center was visited where young children, mainly the children of British born Asian parents, attended special classes to learn English. This type of provision can be contrasted to the more common scheme of teaching the child English in the context of the mainstream classroom. In this latter framework methods have been developed in several projects for assisting the child's second lanugage learning in the classroom and ways have been studied in which normal classroom organizational methods can be used in supporting the second language learner. Also worth noting was the emphasis on meeting the langugage needs of all family members in several of the projects, not just those of the child. This approach was also recognized in an interesting home visiting program for monolingual children. The program illustrated the importance of first helping mothers to recognize their role in their children's development in order to positively influence parent-child interaction. A related result concerned the value of coordinating programs directed toward children with adult education services in the community.

Another monolingual program having relevance to the education of bilingual children is a nation-wide playgroup movement in England. Although the usefulness of the playgroup setting and the home for introducing and reinforcing the second language has been recognized in Wales, this aspect of playgroups has not been focused on in England to any great extent. One reason for this may be that the playgroup movement has been described as being a predominantly middle-class organization which may have limited application to immigrant mothers (unless further development work is carried out, of course).

With regard to bilingual education in Wales, few generalizations seem to have been made concering the results from Welsh-English bilingual education programs to the teaching of the mother tongue to linguistic minority group children in England. Two types of bilingual educational programs are described: Welsh medium schools and bilingual schools. In comparing the two programs, the results seem to indicate that in situations where the minority language is not spoken in the home or community, the more time spent at learning it, the more proficient the learner will become.

Several other projects in Wales focusing on young bilingual children are described, e.g., the National Association of Welsh Medium Nursery Schools and Playgroups. Among several interesting research projects was one investigating why (or why not) bilingual mothers choose to raise their children bilingually. The results illustrate the role of social and psychological factors involved in such a decision.

In general, much of the Welsh research and programming seemed to emphasize the importance of the home environment and the early years in learning a second language. This may be seen in relation to the Welsh language maintenance issue, i.e., that a child learning Welsh in the home from birth is more likely to be a fluent speaker than one learning the second language at a later stage, e.g., in the school environment.

A list of the persons visited in England and Wales is included in the appendix.

2. A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE CURRENT SITUATION IN ENGLAND

Although many multiethnic education and English as a second language programs are in existence in England, mother tongue programs within the school system are rare. This was supported in a report published by the Center for Information on Language Teaching in London (1975):

> A comparatively recent development in Britain is the rapid increase in the number of native speakers of many languages. No reliable statistics are available in the numbers of Punjabi, Gujarati and Hindi speakers in our midst, nor of those who have Greek, Turkish, or Cantonese as their mother tongues. We know, however, that they form part of the permanent population, and provide not only largely untapped resources for learning, but a virtually unexplored and undefined demand for teaching these languages, often in schools but also in further education ... But as yet there is little indication that these are being seriously studied, in spite of much ostensible recognition given to the notions of multicultural and multiracial education. 'Immigrant' languages are still virtually ignored in school.

Willke (1975) who reviewed the schooling of linguistic minority group children in West-Germany, Sweden and England also questioned why in England, although the mother tongue is discussed as being intimately connected with the child's personality, it has had no impact on curricula. She states that bilingualism in Britain is associated only with the Welsh-speakers in Wales and the Gaelic-speakers in Scotland. There is no lack of research going on in England on issues concerning linguistic minority group children, but this has not focused on mother tongue teaching.

The increasing effort to recognize the multiethnic classroom, school, and society and to develop new teaching materials and curricula for all pupils was apparent. This is being carried out, e.g., through employing multiethnic advisors in local education authorities, organizing in-service training on multiethnic curriculum development at teachers' centers, etc. These efforts, however, may not be as extensive as hoped. Little and Willey (1981) in a Schools Council project investigated what local education authorities and secondary schools were doing in the area of multiethnic education. The results revealed that actions had not kept pace with changing attitudes in the field. The authors concluded with a series of sixty recommendations directed toward the Department of Education and Science, local authorities, schools, teachers, and parents, among others,for improving the situation.

Thus, although many experts believe that the schools must take a more active role in recognizing and promoting cultural pluralism, they disagree concerning the role of linguistic policy in this question (Tosi, 1981b).

3. SOME REASONS FOR THE LACK OF MOTHER TONGUE PROGRAMS IN THE SCHOOLS

A number of reasons are suggested for the lack of mother tongue teaching programs in the schools. Multilingual programs may be harder to "sell" than programs promoting cultural pluralism, especially considering difficulties such as the lack of teachers and teaching materials and the number of ethnic languages spoken in the schools. Considering the economic situation in England, mother tongue teaching may be a politically sensitive issue at the present time. (Consider the following headline in The Daily Mail, January, 1981: It's Your Money They're Spending: Council Teach Asians Their Own Language.)

As mentioned above, a major problem is the diversity of languages spoken. A survey in 1978 in 18 London comprehensive schools showed that 3 102 first year pupils spoke 52 languages and 33 overseas-based dialects from Arabic to Cantonese through to Yoruba and Zulu (TES, 22.2.80). Linguistic diversity, surprisingly, is not limited only to inner-city areas.

Kahn (forthcoming) states that "it is likely that the dominant position of English as an international language, its particular position in British colonial history, and the manifestations and influence of these on the attitudes towards indigenous languages have led to the dominant view that bilingualism is problematic." Also, Britain's immigrant population is unlike that of other West European countries in that the majority of immigrants are British subjects migrating from former English colonies. This makes it more difficult to motivate mother tongue teaching on the grounds that pupils may later need it if returning to their home countries. This motivation for mother tongue maintenance is implied in the EEC Directive passed in 1977 concerning mother tongue teaching of immigrants, although the British government has acknowledged that the Directive applies equally to children from New Commonwealth countries. (For a discussion of the Directive and its implications for British policy, see Tosi, 1981a, pp. 11-14.)

According to Kahn (1980) pressures from immigrant groups themselves are starting to come now after these groups have settled in and "found more time to assess their situation and become more aware of the pressures of the dominant culture and the English language (p. 73)".

A related problem receiving increasing attention in reference to mother tongue education is the lack of definition of what is meant by mother

tongue teaching. Fishman (1976, in Wright, undated mimeo) refers to four types of bilingualism:

1. Transitional Bilingualism: Programs where the child's first language is used in the early school grades along with the societal language but only until skill in the societal language enables it to be used alone.
2. Monoliterate Bilingualism: Programs encouraging the development of oral/aural skills in both languages but literacy skills only in the societal language.
3. Biliterate Bilingualism (partial): Although the goal is literacy in both languages, mother tongue literacy skills are restricted in use to studying particular subject matter - usually the literature and arts of the culture associated with the mother tongue.
4. Biliterate Bilingualism (full): In this kind of program all students develop skills in both languages and both languages are used equally as mediums of instruction in all subjects.

The discussion of categories of bicultural and bilingual programs has been carried out more fully elsewhere (see, e.g., Tosi, 1979, 1981a) and will not be taken up here.

It can be stated however that transitional bilingualism for young children is perhaps the type given greatest acceptance in England where the minority language is seen as having importance for the child's concept formation and identity. It will probably be here where progress is made first, leaving aside the more controversial issue of whether mother tongue teaching at a later stage improves self-concept or cultural identity. It can be argued however, that this is a more sophisticated assimilationist policy than one aiming for a true multicultural, multilingual society (see Kahn, 1980).

4. MOTHER TONGUE TEACHING IN ENGLAND

There have been isolated attempts to introduce minority languages in the curriculum in England but these efforts are few and far between. One example is the Bilingual Education Project set up in 1977 in the Inner London Education Authority. In this project materials were produced in a variety of languages for use in secondary schools. The materials are available in seven language versions, each with a parallel English text. This means that

students can choose between the languages as well as that the materials can be used by all children in the mainstream classroom. Thus, the materials are not intended to be used in a "withdrawal" situation which may be associated with remedial provision. The materials mainly cover the "humanities" area although a Maths Project is also being translated into different languages.

In Birmingham, there are projects going on in three schools, one concentrating on first-year classes in Urdu and Punjabi (an optional scheme within the normal curriculum), one after school hours for older children, and one intending to reinforce the use of the first language at lower sixth level. In Coventry there is a mother tongue teacher coordinator. Two of the city's schools offer mother tongue teaching in several languages at the O and A (ordinary and advanced) levels. There are also ongoing experiments with mother tongue teaching in London and Bradford and an earlier completed project in Bedford which will be described shortly.

In general, however, if mother tongue teaching is occurring, this is likely to be during after school hours and in the community, i.e. "coming to life in the evening classes in the Gurdwara, in the Catholic Church or in the Club Polski of its neighborhood" (Tosi, 1981a, p. 15). One of the purposes of an ongoing project at London University, the Linguistic Minorities Project, is to survey these after-school community language schools in various parts of England.

Many children of all ages, from nursery to sixth form, regularly attend weekend and evening mother tongue classes arranged by a variety of community groups. These can be run by religious groups, by voluntary organizations, or by the embassy of the country concerned. The Italian embassy, according to a report in 1975 by the Runnymede Trust, had educational advisors in 10 centers in Britain which altogether ran 583 language courses. In some cases there is coordination between schools and community efforts, e.g., when schools provide free locations, pay teachers, etc.

One newspaper article questioned why, if these programs exist, can they not be allowed to assume responsibility for mother tongue teaching (see Kahn, 1980, for a discussion of this issue). There are several arguments against letting these organizations assume total responsibility. In some cases the teachers are unqualified and the methods used differ to those which the child is accustomed to at school. Coordination with the schools would also seem important to establish so that teachers can be informed of the child's

language learning activities outside school hours, which could be expected to influence language as well as general learning in school. Some of the children observed in Bradford, e.g., were learning four language simultaneously: English at school, Punjabi at home, and Urdu and Arabic at after-school religion classes. Instead these classes should be improved where necessary and run in conjunction with whatever provision schools may provide. Dr. Verity Kahn (TES, 22/2/80), director of the Linguistic Minorities Project, states the following: "If mother tongue schools remain detached and uncoordinated with the mainstream system their contribution will be limited. However, even if mainstream schools do recognize and teach the mother tongues that are spoken by their pupils there will always be a crucial role for voluntary schools in areas where lack of concentration prevents classes in school hours." Considering the current economic situation, it may be unrealistic to expect extensive efforts toward including mother tongue teaching in schools in the near future. According to one researcher, the best hope is for better coordination between schools and community language classes.

4.1 Some Ongoing or Recently Completed Research Projects in England Investigating Mother Tongue Teaching

Information concerning four research projects investigating mother tongue teaching currently underway or having recently been completed was obtained. These were the following:

1) the Bedford Project
2) the Schools Council Mother Tongue Project
3) the Linguistic Minorities Project
4) the Mother Tongue and English Teaching Project

In addition, a completed project looking at linguistic diversity in London Schools was carried out by Professor Harold Rosen at London University. This study surveyed languages spoken by secondary pupils (ages 11-18) in 28 inner-London schools (see Rosen & Burgess, 1980), rather than focusing on mother tongue teaching as such.

4.1.1 *The Bedford Project*

Unfortunately, I was unable to obtain a report concerning the Bedford Project. The project was funded by the European Community from 1976 to 1980

as a pilot project for children of Italian- and Punjabi-speaking parents. The children had some lessons in these languages in school and were helped with keeping up the mother tongue. When the project ended in 1980 neither the local authority nor the Department of Education and Science offered to extend it, however. One reason for this may have been the expense, considering the fact that these children formed only a small percentage of the immigrant children needing atttention in Bedford. Multilingualism in the Italian community in Bedford is discussed elsewhere in Tosi (1981b).

4.1.2 *The Schools Council Mother Tongue Project*

The Schools Council Mother Tongue Project is being carried out in London at the Center for Urban Educational Studies, under the auspices of the Schools Council. The project is financed by the EEC. The target group is primary school children (7-11-year-olds). According to David Houlton, the project's director, the project has three main aims:

1) to develop teaching materials for classroom use in Greek and Bengali

2) to use the experience from (1) in developing guidelines on suggested strategies for promoting other languages in primary schools

3) to develop strategies for the monolingual (English-speaking) teacher in the multilingual classroom.

Greek and Bengali were chosen because Greek is the language of the largest linguistic minority in London and Bengali is the language from the Indian sub-continent most widely spoken in London. The project however, will provide experiences to teachers of all linguistic minority children, not just those who teach Greek or Bengali speaking children.

Two team members will conduct workshops in which groups of Bengali and Greek teachers will develop curriculum materials in each of these languages. The purpose is not to develop a full range of materials but exemplar materials which illustrate strategies which can be used for children in different age groups. This work began in September, 1981. A third member of the team will focus on school-based responses to the mother tongue of bilingual pupils, producing detailed and practical guidelines illustrating how schools can positively respond to the mother tongues of their pupils. A fourth member of the team will evaluate the project in terms of the following:

1. the effects of mother tongue teaching on the child's literacy skills in the mother tongue, on competence in other basic skill subjects, and on the attitudes of pupils, teachers, parents, staff, and other concerning mother tongue teaching
2. the process of materials development
3. the effectiveness of various strategies for monolingual teachers in linguistically diverse classrooms.

The project will focus on other means than that of withdrawing the child from the mainstream classroom for mother tongue teaching. It can be mentioned here that there appears to be a general dissatisfaction in England with the withdrawal method as it tends to result in children being labeled as having learning difficulties.

A large part of the project's activity will concern dissemination.

4.1.3 *The Linguistic Minorities Project*

The Linguistic Minorities Project is being carried out at the Institute of Education at the University of London and is directed by Dr. Verity Kahn. The project is described in the project's *General Information Sheet* in the appendix. It aims to:

a) contribute to the ongoing educational debate about mother tongue teaching and equal opportunities in education
b) contribute to the theoretical debate about bilingualism and gain further insights into the process of language shift by integrating approaches from sociolinguistics and ethnic relations
c) stimulate further research and action in the field
d) disseminate findings to a wide range of people, including minority parents, children, teachers, and administrators.

An important part of the work of the project has been the development of methods. Bilingualism in various areas of England is being studied by means of language surveys, questionnaires and interviews administered to teachers, school children and adults in the community. The project will also describe what mother tongue teaching is being provided in the community, both in the regular school system and by minority groups themselves.

4.1.4 *The Mother Tongue and English Teaching Project*

The Mother Tongue and English Teaching Project, carried out in Bradford, was funded by the Department of Education and Science and ran for two years beginning in July, 1978. Although a final report has not yet been obtained, a summary report of Volumes 1 and 2 (Rees & Fitzpatrick) presents the major findings.

The purpose of the project was to:

1) implement a curriculum reflecting a different strategy of language use from existing practice in Bradford. This eventually took the form of a bilingual project in which each language was used as the medium of instruction for half the day

2) describe attitudes during the school year in teachers and parents toward the use of an Asian mother tongue in school

3) specify the social and cultural context, including the home background of the children, within which the classroom program took place

4) compare changes in selected cognitive and language/communication skills in Punjabi and English for children exposed to new (bilingual) and control (monolingual English) curricula

5) compare changes in the social adjustment and classroom interaction for children exposed to the new and control curricula.

Both quantitative as well as qualitative means of assessment were used.

The children were four and one-half to five and one-half year-olds beginning the first year of primary school. They were mainly Punjabi-speaking Pakistani children (Mirapuri variant) with little or no communicative skill in English at the onset of the program. Data on 66 children were available. The study was seen mainly as a pilot study.

Experimental and control groups were set up at two schools, one an infant school with a large proportion of Asian children and the second an infant language center (for the learning of English) for Asian children. The control groups were taught only through the medium of English while the experimental groups were withdrawn for half the day to an adjoining classroom where they were taught in Punjabi.

4.1.4.1 Results

The results of the project are described only briefly here, concentrating mainly on the results concerning the children's language development.

The staff suggested that there was no evidence of detrimental effects through the use of Punjabi although some linguistic confusion was experienced among the very slow children. The authors report that "a clear distinction was seen between the lively and competent response of the more able in the bilingual group and the labored response of the slow who might have benefited more from a wholly Punjabi curriculum at this stage (Rees & Fitzpatrick)."

The following findings were also reported:

1. The amount of time spent on L2 (English) in the classroom had little short term influence (i.e., during one year) on the development of speech and listening in L2, on nonverbal performance, or on teachers' perception of children's progress in language and social classroom activity. These results may not hold however under a longer period of time.
2. An important factor influencing the results may have been the presence of native English speakers at the school who were not present at the language center, giving the children the opportunity for informal language practice which improved their L2 (English) skills.
3. The development of bilingual child's first language is facilitated by a curriculum involving the use of that language as a classroom medium.

5. ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE PROGRAMS

In the United Kingdom, the response to the educational needs of linguistic minority group children has focused mainly on their acquisition of English language skills. The type of provision offered to this end varies in different local areas. According to Wilke (1975) if schools do make arrangements this is generally of three types: withdrawal groups, special classes or reception centers. The situation may have changed however since the article was written. Wiles (personal communication) states that "only a few local education authorities have reception centers. Many are strongly opposed to them, believing them to be divisive and not in the best interest of the children".

5.1 Language Centers

In Bradford, a scheme with language centers is operating, although according to Pam Bradley, one of the Schools Division's Multiethnic Affairs Officers, the future of the centers is uncertain. One of the city's twelve lanugage centers, the Farnham Center, was visited in which the Headteacher was interviewed and several of the classrooms observed. In Bradford there are nine centers for five- to six-year-olds, two for seven- to eleven-year-olds and one for older children. Most of the children attending these centers are children of British born Asian parents. The Teachers' Center in Bradford was active in the ESL area and had developed some of the materials being used at the centers.

The above description of the language centers in Bradford may not be typical of the country as a whole. Wiles (personal communication) states that language centers are not necessarily attended by only one minority group; this depends more on the composition of the local area. In London, for example, they are used for secondary school age children and are linguistically very mixed. Some Local Education Authorities have disbanded language centers altogether and placed teachers in schools.

A brief history of the language centers may be of interest. According to a report by the City Metropolitan Council, prior to 1971, infant children of parents of overseas origin were admitted directly into the infant school. The rationale behind this was that the child had the whole of its school life ahead of him and that there was ample time to learn English and become integrated into the educational system. This view however was modified by two important factors: a) a dramatic increase in the number of infant immigrant children who needed to be accommodated in school, and b) a growing concern about the quality of the language of such children already in infant schools. Consequently, after considerable discussion, it was decided to set up a number of language centers in areas having a large population of immigrants.

The purpose of the centers (in addition to providing education based on existing infant practice) is threefold:

1) to provide the young second language learner with a serviceable English code which can also be used as a tool of thought
2) to introduce the child to the social and cultural life of the school
3) to observe the child carefully and seek help from other agencies should this be indicated as necessary.

Two of the centers are "purpose-built" infant language centers while others are housed in older although well-equipped buildings.

The centers admit children of rising four and one-half years. They also organize other activities involving family members, e.g., mothers' clubs at which mothers are encouraged to bring their babies and toddlers, pre-school playgroups for children prior to the term of entry to the center, father's groups, and girls' and boys' clubs.

In accordance with the view of the importance of the home language for the young child, the center also attempts to recognize the child's home language, celebrates the major religious festivals, and uses materials reflecting the multicultural society in which the child lives.

My impressions of the language center were positive, and it appeared to be a good idea to consolidate children from one language group for the purpose of learning English, even though the program had not been specifically designed in this way. There seemed to be little involvement of the children's language and culture in the program, however, although the short duration of my visit must be considered. A possible reason for this may have been that all teachers were monolingual. This problem might have been solved by involving parents or a bilingual aid in the program to a greater extent. The purpose of the program however was not to develop the children's bilingualism but to teach them English language skills.

5.2 Neighborhood English Classes

In some areas neighborhood English classes which organize home tutoring and language groups for mothers and children have looked into the possibilities of teaching English to young children while mothers are receiving language instruction, this occuring through the media of cooking, sewing, etc. (Wiles, personal communication).

5.3 Nursery School Programs (Inner London Education Authority)

According to the Nursery Inspector of the Inner London Education Authority, the main emphasis of nursery school education for the linguistic minority group child has been on the learning of English. Some programs for promoting the use of the mother tongue exist however, such as the use of assistants in the classroom who are native speakers. Various programs have focused on

ways of aiding the nursery school second language learner in the classroom (see, e.g., the Bilingual Under Fives project in the following section). In a series of Nursery Newsletters published regularly and available to all personnel working with nursery school children, topics such as methods to use with bilingual children in the classroom, involving minority group parents in the preschool, and bringing in the cultures of the children into the curriculum are frequently discussed.

5.4 Projects at the Language Division, Center for Urban Educational Studies, London

In a CUES (1980) report, it was stated that the Center for Urban Educational Studies was established in order to focus on the education of children in the innner London area. Earlier, the major role of the Center was an in-service one, i.e., to train specialist teachers to work with children for whom English was a second language. A Language Division was established in 1970 to further expand this work to consider the role of language (especially oral language) in learning for all children. The Language Division developed an action/research and curriculum development orientation in addition to continuing the earlier in-service function.

The following projects are currently being carried out at the Language Division (see CUES,1980,for a more complete description of these projects):

Language for Learning

This project aims to aid the young child in developing oral language skills though small group games and activities. A functional approach to language is emphasized. The project recognizes the importance of context when considering children's linguistic abilities. A further advantage with the clearly defined nature of some of the language activities involved is the provision of linguistic support for early stage second language learners.

Collaborative Learning

The purpose of this project is to explore the use of small group interaction in extending skills in communication and learning.

Reading Through Understanding

This project was started in 1974 in order to investigate the teaching of reading in the urban, multiethnic school, especially in relation to children

of Caribbean origin. The project focuses on understanding the reading process, on understanding the classroom as a context for learning to read, and on the impact of attitudes to race and culture on the teaching/learning process. Different sets of reading materials have been produced. An important aim has been to develop materials which contribute to a positive self-image in blacks, as well as which help to encourage positive attitudes toward black children in their white peers.

Second Language Learning in Primary School

In 1975 a project was begun in order to explore ways of supporting children in the primary classroom learning English as a second language. The following practices were found to be supportive of the child's learning of English and have been further developed in a subsequent program:

1) supporting the child's learning of English through the involvement in learning tasks
2) providing maximum visual support for learning and clear models of working
3) mixing groups of second language learners and native speakers working together on appropriate learning activities
4) acceptance of the need to reduce the range of language which the child is exposed to during the early stages of second language learning
5) providing opportunities for supportive listening activities related to classroom work.

Bilingual Under Fives

In 1978 a project was started to consider ways of supporting nursery school children learning English as a second language. As is the general policy of the Language Division, working with the child in the normal classroom setting is emphasized.

Initial exploration showed that some current practices already provided opportunities which were supportive to the second language learner, e.g.:

1) the opportunity to interact with native speakers
2) the opportunity to repeat a learning point and language patterns in similar as well as in different contexts
3) the opportunity to use a range of visual information to support understanding
4) the opportunity to build on earlier learning experiences occurring in the home.

The project leaders went on to develop these opportunities and extend them to various areas of the children's language learning. It is aimed that a book for preschool teachers describing the approaches developed will be produced. Materials have also been developed in three areas: story-telling, turn-taking games and creative activities in order to illustrate ways of working with children in the multilingual classroom. The project is also exploring other ways in which the nursery school classroom can recognize and share the variety of cultural and linguistic experiences of its children and their parents.

Family Cooperation in the Development of Literacy

In 1978, a project was begun focusing on the development of literacy in five-year-olds. The main concern is to use insights of parents about their children's developing literacy and to develop a dialogue between parents and teachers in order to strengthen links between the school and community. This dialogue will be implemented through regular informal meetings as well as by means of the following:

1) developing a video film for parents showing teachers' approaches to the teaching of reading
2) supporting teachers in establishing a lending library
3) inviting parents to read and tell stories in a range of mother-tongues
4) inviting parents and teachers to share in the preparation of materials for use at home and in the classroom.

5.5 The Schools Council Projects

The Schools Council is an independent organization established and financed by central and local government. The Council sponsors school-based research to promote the development of curriculum, teaching methods, and examinations and has carried out research projects on a wide range of issues, including those related to the education of immigrant children. Two examples of such curriculum projects are English for Immigrant Children (Scope) and Teaching English to West Indian Children (Concept 7-9). Information about these as well as other projects can be obtained from:

The Schools Council Information Center
160 Great Portland Street
London WIN GLL

6. TWO SCHEMES FOR PRESCHOOL CHILDREN

Several other schemes were observed in England which could be adapted for use with immigrant children and parents in Sweden. Among these were mother-toddler groups, playgroups, and home visiting schemes.

6.1 Playgroups and Mother-toddler Groups

The Pre-school Playgroups Association is a democratic voluntary organization linking local playgroups which serve 400,000 children in the three- to five-year-old age range and their families. In addition to providing help and support for local playgroups through a national network of largely volunteer workers, it also publishes a wide range of booklets and pamphlets as well as two magazines.

The Association believes that "all young children have a right to safe, stimulating play in the company of other children under the guidance of friendly adults and that it is through such play that children can most fully develop, both intellectually and personally" (from The Pre-school Playgroups Association Membership Form 1981/82).

The movement originally started as a result of the limited number of nursery school placements for preschool children. The original goal of providing a substitute for nursery school placement has expanded; it was soon found that through involvement in playgroups, parents could also satisfy some of their own needs. The movement has thus shifted from children to families. More recently, mother and toddler groups for mothers and younger children (under the age of three) have also been started.

The aims of the Pre-school Playgroups Association are to help parents understand and meet their young children's needs. One of the ways in which this is done is through community situations in which parents can use their own knowledge and skills in the development of their children and in their own development.

More information about playgroups can be obtained from:
The Pre-school Playgroups Association
Alford House
Aveline Street
London SE11 5DH

Although no examples were found in England in which the concept of playgroups and mother-toddler groups has been extended to the teaching of the mother tongue to young children, the scheme would appear to be a useful one. Arnberg (1981) has shown the difficulties associated with maintaining a second language in the home in the situation where the family is the main source of second language input as well as the need for second language playmates. In connection with this, however, several persons described the playgroup movement as being a predominantly middle-class organization and expressed skepticism concerning its application in certain immigrant groups where the concept of a playgroup may be foreign.

6.2 Home Visiting Scheme

An example of a home visiting scheme for parents and young children is the Deptford Educational Home Visiting Project carried out from 1974-75 (see Jayne, 1976). The project was co-directed by a local nursery school and an adult education institute.

The aims of the project (see Jayne, *op.cit*) were as follows:

> ... to develop the "teaching triangle" of parent, child and teacher. By visiting homes, the project hopes to reach parents who traditionally feel a child's education only starts when he enters school and who are unaware of the importance of their own role in the early development of their children. It is hoped that by helping parents to develop and reinforce their skills as educators, their children will be enabled to have greater opportunities to achieve their full potential.
>
> It is believed that the early learning of a child is crucial and therefore the learning environment of the young child is vital. Parents can be made aware of this, so that they can use their own abilities and traditions, and the things in their own home to increase the learning activities of their children and make them more meaningful. Results from an earlier study showed that parents do not lack interest and concern for their children, rather they lack knowledge and awareness of their own role as educators (pp. 2-3).

6.2.1 *Home Visitors and Visits*

The service was offered to all families within a small geographic area (although the area itself was one of "disadvantage"). A number of immigrant parents were involved in the program. Forty families were visited during the project's initial year.

Five Home Visitors were employed during the first year. They first attended a three-week training course which included child observation sessions as

well as lectures and workshops in such areas as language development, results from other similar projects, the role of play in cognitive and language development, and special problems associated with adult learning.

The Home Visitor visited each family once per week equipped with a wide range of toys and materials. Initially the goal was to develop a good relation with the parent and child and then involve the parent in planning weekly sessions and in using, during the subsequent week, the concepts, toys, words, etc. which had been introduced during the visit. This was often a slow process due to such factors as shyness, depression, poor nutrition and overwork, among others. As the project progressed, the Home Visitors found themselves dealing more actively with the mothers themselves rather than with the children, who usually responded readily to the toys. It was felt necessary to meet the mothers' needs before any impact could be had on the parent-child interaction pattern.

The Home Visitor affected some mothers positively by providing a model for meaningful adult-child interaction, i.e., a two-way communication channel rather than merely "talking at" children. Parents were often surprised at the child's communication ability which in turn increased their motivation to communicate with the child. Another interesting finding concerned parents' lack of awareness that language comprehension preceded speech production, resulting in the attitude that "there's no point talking to the child until it can speak." The Home Visitor helped to alter this attitude as well as to introduce children's books in the home which were often found to be lacking. It was of interest that these books were even used by semi- or illiterate parents.

6.2.2 *Other Aspects of the Program*

In addition to the weekly home visits, Home Visitors participated in a weekly seminar or in-service training which functioned both as a means of support and as an opportunity for communication about the project. As the program continued, links were established with other organizations in the community servicing young children and parents.

The connection with the adult education center made it possible to coordinate courses for parents who were participating in the program, e.g., in personal development, creative activities, domestic skills and child development. Coffee mornings were started, as many of the mothers were socially isolated.

6.2.3 *Evaluation*

The project was evaluated both in terms of the innovation itself as well as the results concerning the parents' perceived role in relation to their child's cognitive development and education (see Jayne, 1976, for a more complete discussion of the results).

The mothers participating in the project were more inclined than those in a control group of mothers to see their role as being important in their children's early experiences. The children seemed to settle in well at nursery school according to reports from teachers and performed better than a control group of subjects in a picture vocabulary test although the results were not significant. It was also suggested that the Home Visitor played an important role in establishing a link between home and school.

One of the most valuable spin-off effects of the project was the close relation established between the school and other agencies in the community such as mothers' groups, local health centers, social service departments and the Adult Education Institute. This in turn influenced the Adult Education Institute to define a wider role for itself, e.g., as "enablers" rather than "providers" of a service, "letting their consumers define their education needs for type of provision rather than defining it for them (Jayne, 1976)."

Transcripts of mothers' comments included in the appendix of the report indicated that the program was perceived of as being highly valuable both for the children's as well as for the mothers' own development. Mothers stated that the program taught them to listen to the child, how to teach the child, and informed them about toys and materials suitable for young children. Mothers stated also that the visits were "something to look forward to". This aspect of the program should not be overlooked. Many of the mothers apparently lived socially isolated and lonely lives and the home visits provided "a small but consistent positive force, a bit of a morale booster (Jayne, 1976)."

6.2.4 *Application of the Scheme to Immigrant Mothers*

Several aspects of the above scheme are of relevance to work with immigrant mothers, e.g.: 1) the need for reinforcing the immigrant parent in his/her role as teacher of the mother tongue to the child and 2) the need for

meeting the social needs of the mother which in turn can be expected to positively influence the parent-child interaction. If immigrant parents are the main source of second language input, it is clear that they must be helped to be as "effective" as possible. Secondly, if a mother is isolated and depressed, the best language training methods may have little value.

7. BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN WALES

Bilingual education in Wales will be limited to the discussion of Welsh-English bilingualism. Due to the short duration of the visit it was not possible to include information on bilingual education in other linguistic minority groups.

Dr. Eurwen Price has carried out research on a number of aspects of bilingualism in Wales, including the effects of schooling in which both English and Welsh are used as mediums of instruction and the assessment of Welsh language skills (Price, 1980). A number of different educational schemes in Wales are in progress but only two will be described here, i.e., Welsh medium and bilingual schools (see Price, 1977).

7.1 Welsh Medium Schools

In 1977, there were approximately 50 so-called Welsh medium schools. The aim of these schools is to foster the native minority language, i.e., Welsh. To compensate for the dominance of English outside the school environment, the schools place all emphasis on the weaker language. The goal however, is to produce fairly well-balanced bilinguals by the age of eleven, although the school depends on the anglicizing forces in the outside environment in helping to achieve this.

Enrollment in the schools is voluntary, which assumes a positive attitude by parents toward the minority language. Reading is first taught in the minority language (Welsh) regardless of the language spoken in the home. Many of the children, although coming from English-speaking homes, have attended Welsh medium playgroups or reception classes attached to the schools. The children are quickly and exclusively exposed to Welsh. In schools where the majority of the children come from Welsh-speaking homes, children speaking English as a first language on arrival usually catch up within about two years. However, many such schools now have an intake in which pupils from English-speaking homes predominate. This trend is increasing.

English is introduced as a second language usually at the end of the third grade (at approximately age 7), and at this time it is mainly in the form of English speech and writing practice. Switching to reading in English does not seem to present a problem to the children, provided that speech is already well-established in that language. The proportion of English used increases, especially since it is difficult to obtain curriculum materials in Welsh in certain subject areas. It is estimated that by the end of primary school, English subjects comprise about 40% of the curriculum. This type of program is more successful than other schemes with regard to achievement in the minority language (Welsh) and does no seem to negatively affect achievement in English.

7.2 Bilingual Schools

The Schools Council Bilingual Education Project was set up in 1968 to develop a program of bilingual education for primary schools in anglicized areas in Wales in order to ensure familiarity with the second language (Welsh) by using it as a medium of instruction throughout primary schooling. However, mostly designed for anglicized areas, a program was developed which would be more geared toward active use of both languages from the beginning of the child's schooling. The recommendation was that about 40% to 50% of the school's day be devoted to activities through the medium of the second language. By 1977, approximately 200 schools in Wales were using this approach. The bilingual program is introduced early and continues throughout primary school. The second language is introduced gradually, at first mainly through the medium of play during the early weeks. In an evaluation of this educational scheme, no significant differences (between a group following this curriculum and a control group in a monolingual English curriculum) were found in English skills, reading, mathematics or non-verbal ability at ages seven or nine. The level of Welsh obtained was lower than in the preceding scheme, but better than in settings where Welsh was taught only as a second language. These results suggested that in situations where the minority language is not spoken in the home or community, the more time spent at learning it, the more proficient the learner will become.

It should be pointed out, however, that it has been estimated that only approximately 12% of children in primary schoools in Wales are bilingual. Thus, schools using either of the two above schemes are in the minority.

8. MUDIAD YSGOLION MEITHRIN (National Association of Welsh Medium Nursery Schools and Playgroups)

The aims of the movement can be seen in its six policy points:

1. "*Aim and Purpose:* The aim of the Welsh Nursery Schools Association is to give an opportunity to the young child to develop physically, intellectually, emotionally and socially through various forms of play and through the medium of the Welsh language.

2. *Non-Welsh-Speaking Children:* It is a policy of the Association to accept children from homes which are not Welsh-speaking, but the association stands firm on the place of the Welsh language in the playgroup. English should not be used except when it is necessary to communicate with the child, after failing to obtain a response through the use of Welsh.

3. *Language of the Playgroup:* The implementation of 1 and 2 above means that those in charge of the group must be fluent in Welsh. Unless this is secured, the importance of the Welsh language as basic to the Association's policy will be lost.

   When teachers lack experience in the introduction of a second language, provision should be made for giving them some training in methods in order to enable them to carry out their task as competently as possible.

4. *Relationship with the Education Authorities:* The Association aims at the provision of Welsh schools, staffed by teachers qualified in teaching through the medium of Welsh, with opportunities for inservice training. For that reason the association calls on local education authorities to prepare Welsh medium education in the schools to which our children progress.

   The Association believes that authorities should take this into account from the earliest stage of planning their future programmes rather than making an ad hoc response to parents' demands.

5. *Consultation with Parents in Special Difficulties:* If there are reasons for considering that a child fails to respond to Welsh as a new language in a Welsh playgroup, because, for instance, of a hearing defect, or slow mental development, or attitude to the Welsh language, there should be early consultation with the parents.

6. *Assistance from Local Authorities and Other Bodies:* The Association considers that the Welsh nursery education provided in our playgroups is an important basis for further Welsh education at the primary and secondary levels. It should be available for every child in Wales.

   In view of the present limitation on statutory nursery education, the Association urges the utmost possible practical help in money and other means from local education authorities, social services committees of our county councils and other authorities, chapels and churches, etc., so that the hours and days of the present nursery provision may be extended, making it more effective, as well as increasing the number of groups and of children in them."

According to Mr. Brian Jones, the Movement's director, Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin has enjoyed tremendous success during its ten-year history.

It recognizes the importance of introducing Welsh at as early a stage as possible in the child's language development. There are currently 400 playgroups throughout Wales. Although these first began in native Welsh-speaking areas, the majority of children who now attend them are initially English-speaking. Of the 400 groups, only 5-10 are monoglot Welsh-speaking groups.

Welsh medium playgroups are also of methodological interest in the discussion of second language teaching methods because they combine native Welsh speakers with second language learners in the same group, as well as are having a fair degree of success in imparting skills in Welsh in this manner. Because of this, the Movement has received funds from the European Cultural Fund who have financed a three-year study in order to investigate the following:

1) the most effective way of teaching Welsh in mixed skill-level groups
2) the level of Welsh being achieved in such groups.

The Movement also influences the development of Welsh-medium schools at the primary level. In Cardiff, three new Welsh medium schools opened during the fall term, 1981, to accomodate children "graduating" from playgroups. In general, parents are asked to make a commitment to educating their children in Welsh medium schools when they enroll the child in a playgroup. Mrs. Arvill Jones, one of the local advisors, stated that one reason for this was the effort required in teaching the child a second language as well as the unnecessary burden placed on the child if this was not to be followed up.

The Movement is lucky in having a large number of college trained teachers, due to the emphasis placed on education in traditional Welsh areas, producing a large number of teachers and university graduates.

The organization also publishes some of its own teaching materials although commercially produced materials are also used. These latter materials, however, do not always meet the needs of the program, e.g., in terms of teaching the child color or number concepts in Welsh.

Adult language classes are connected with playgroups and an attempt is made to teach non-Welsh-speaking adults simple phrases which can be used in the mother-toddler groups and at home in interacting with the child.

No research has yet been carried out looking at the effects of this early "immersion" in a second language on young children, which would be of international interest. According to Mr. Brian Jones, the Welsh language has been

in such a state of decline at present that a priority has been to develop ways of reestablishing it. At a later point, other areas, such as research activities, may be focused on. The Movement receives the support of many other organizations in Wales; among them the Welsh Language Movement.

Information was also obtained concering a similar Movement in Ireland (*An Comhchoiste Réamhscolaíochta*). Of interest are the reasons motivating the initiation of this Movement, i.e., the recognition that:

1) preschooling can be beneficial to the child, his family and the general community
2) given the proper conditions, young children can acquire the second language naturally
3) this, in turn, helps begin/extend the use of Irish in the domain of the family which, in turn, can lead to the extension of community bilingualism.

The belief expressed in both the Welsh and the Irish playgroup Movements concerning the young child's ability to acquire a second language in a natural play situation is of interest and can be extended to other contexts. One implication, e.g., concerns the possibility of introducing English to monolingual Swedish children during the preschool years, e.g., in the form of playgroups within the day nursery system or by individual parents. Such a project would of course have to be accompanied by research in order to study the effects of early second language learning on the children's development of language skills in both languages, as well as on other areas of development.

9. OTHER RESEARCH PROJECTS IN WALES

9.1 Communication Disorders in Bilingual Children (Siân Munro, South Glamorgan Institute of Higher Education, Cardiff)

This research work emphasizes the importance of distinguishing between the normal characteristics of bilingualism and those of pathology in the speech and language of bilingual children.

9.2 Language Development and Mothers' Speech to Children

Dr. Bob Jones at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, is carrying out two research projects in the area of early language development, one

looking at mothers' speech to children and the other investigating language and concept development in monolingual and bilingual children.

One of the purposes of the first project was to observe mother-child speech interactions in order to produce data which could be used to develop a language program to be used by mothers wishing to teach their children Welsh. The language program developed was based on patterns of language interactions in everyday situations, e.g., at bath and meal times. Two programs for mothers and their children (up to the age of 18 months) have been developed. The study also served as a study of mothers' speech to children in a variety of home environments.

A second study aimed to look at language and concept development in children from three to seven years of age. Three hundred and fifty children in two cohorts were studied longitudinally for three years in which speech samples were collected once per year while the children were playing in pairs. The children were also tested in concept acquisition. Children throughout Wales were studied, including equal numbers of girls and boys, of those coming from middle- and working-class family backgrounds, and of those who were monoglot (English-speaking) and bilingual (Welsh-English-speaking). The speech data has been analyzed in a variety of ways in relation to background variables, but the entire set of results are not yet available in report form. A subset of the results are reported by Piette (1980).

9.3 Bilingual Mothers and the Language of Their Children

A third research project has been carried out by Dr. Godfrey Harrison at the Department of Psychology, University College, Cardiff. Dr. Harrison was abroad at the time of my visit, but sent papers about some of his work. One project was of particular interest and will be discussed briefly. The study attempted to answer the question, "Why do some bilingual mothers in Wales rear monolingual children?" (In this case, "monolingual" refers to English-speaking children.) The question is of particular interest for the maintenance of Welsh, as the child hearing Welsh in the home from birth is more likely to be a fluent speaker than the child learning the second language at a later stage, e.g., at school.

Three hundred and eleven mothers having at least one child between the ages of two and seven years from 10 areas of Wales where at least 60% of the population were Welsh-speaking were studied. One hundred and eighteen

mothers were rearing bilingual Welsh/English children and 193 mothers were rearing monoglot English children. The data was based on interviews from a standard questionnaire as well as from conversations with the mothers.

The results are discussed in a summary paper as well as briefly in Harrison and Piette (1980). A book was scheduled for publication in the fall, 1981, by the University of Wales Press entitled *Bilingual Mothers in Wales and the Language of Their Children*.

The results concerning social and psychological differences between the two groups of mothers are summarized as follows (Harrison & Piette, 1980):

1. Social-demographic influences: The most important finding was that mothers in social group three were far more likely to rear their children monolingually than those in both higher and lower social groups. The authors suggested that cultural norms for social group three may be asssociated with trends toward monolingualism and away from bilingualism.

2. Influences of social interactions outside the nuclear family: Mothers rearing monolingual children were significantly more likely to have an English nursery school near them while mothers rearing children bilingually were significantly more likely to have a Welsh nursery school near them. One factor which must be considered however is the extent to which a Welsh nursery had not been established in an area due to a lack of interest in the community.

3. Influences of social interactions within the family: In cases where the mothers were bilingual and the fathers monolingual, mothers were more likely to raise bilingual children if their husbands were positive toward bilingualism; in other words it was the father's attitude rather than his language ability which was of importance.

4. Social psychological influences: There were no differences between the groups of mothers concerning their attitudes toward Welsh; a large majority of mothers in both groups had a positive view of Welsh. In attitudes toward child-rearing in general, however, mothers with bilingual children showed a greater tolerance of baby talk in their children (a significant difference was found between the two groups). The authors suggested that "mothers who are generally tolerant of errors and unacceptable (to adults) speech in young children might also be more willing to tolerate the mixing and linguistic confusion that may be present in early bilingual language development (p. 228)."

10. DISCUSSION

A description of some of the ongoing bilingual education programs and research in England and Wales has given some valuable information which can be useful in Swedish program innovation and research in this area. The question which immediately arises is "What can we learn from the English and Welsh experiences in this area?" (The question posed in this way is of course not meant to imply that problems concerning linguistic minority group children have been solved in these countries.) The present study has shed light on four areas which are of special interest in connection with this question:

1) the language(s) of instruction for immigrant children
2) where language teaching should occur (i.e., in the mainstream classroom or in a "withdrawal" situation)
3) multiethnic/multicultural aspects of the education of the immigrant child
4) the involvement of parents in the bilingual education of the child.

10.1 The Language(s) of Instruction for Immigrant Children

The question concerning in which language(s) the young linguistic minority group child should be educated has been hotly debated in Sweden. Although the importance of the mother tongue in the education of the young child has been recognized, the question remains concering whether the child should receive his education entirely through the medium of the mother tongue during the early years or whether both the mother tongue and the societal languages should be introduced simultaneously.

Results from English and Welsh research and programs, although not focusing specifically on the above question, do not seem to indicate that early bilingualism is harmful to the child. With the exception of the Welsh medium schools, most "mother tongue" programs in existence are bilingual rather than one-language models, and it is not suggested that the child must fully develop the mother tongue before learning the second language. The Welsh playgroup movement suggests the usefulness of a natural, play situation represented during the early years for second language learning. The strategy of introducing the second language at an early age is also related to the "practice" hypothesis, i.e., the longer time spent in learning a second language, the more proficient one will become in it, (see also Carroll, 1969, in reference to foreign language learning).

An area which has received limited research attention in Sweden concerns the role of individual difference factors and second language acquisition. One of the findings (see Rees & Fitzpatrick, undated manuscript) suggested that for the slower learning child, a mother tongue program may have been more suitable than a bilingual one. This issue is related to the broader question concerning why some children manage to learn a second language when placed in an L2 environment while others do not. The success with which a child learns the second language may be related to factors within the child (see Fillmore,1976) within the learning environment, e.g., attitudes toward the second language learner (Tucker, 1977), or to an interaction between these areas. Obviously this question has great importance for parents as well as for bilingual program innovation and much more research is needed in this area.

10.2 Where Language Teaching Should Occur, i.e., in the Mainstream Classroom or in a "Withdrawal" Situation

The issue of whether language teaching for the linguistic minority group child, whether this be related to mother tongue or second language teaching, should occur in the mainstream classroom or in a withdrawal situation is of particular interest in Sweden due to the many children receiving home language instruction several hours per week. The policy in Great Britain has been to emphasize the importance of providing language teaching within the mainstream classroom and various methods for carrying this out have been developed at different levels of the educational system. These include small group work for all children (so that the bilingual child does not feel stigmatized), combining groups of native speakers and second language learners in small groups,using parallel curriculum materials in different languages, developing strategies for the monolingual teacher in linguistically diverse classrooms, etc.

Although,considering the diversity of linguistic minority group children in Sweden, a withdrawal method has at times proven to be the only way in which a teacher can work with the child, the effects of this teaching context need to be more closely examined. If it is the case that a withdrawal situation exacerbates an already negative self-image on the part of the immigrant child and results in the development of a negative attitude toward the home language, other means must be found for oganizing home language teaching. In many areas this has already been done, e.g., organizing groups of students receiving home language training after school hours.

The question of mainstreaming versus withdrawal is also related to the general issue of educational models for bilingual children. Although the mother tongue model has many advantages, it may result in the children's being isolated from other Swedish-speaking children. The importance of interaction with native-speaking children in learning a second language has been suggested, among others, by Rees and Fitzpatrick (undated manuscript).

10.3 Multiethnic/Multicultural Aspects of the Education of the Immigrant Child

In addition to increasing multiethnic awareness in all children, the representation of the linguistic minority group child's culture in the classroom and in learning materials is highly important. When considering the young child, the preschool must build on the child's earlier experiences in the home and a continuity between the experiences in the home and preschool is seen as necessary in the development of the child's identity. Some of the English programs emphasized the need for having objects in the classroom which the child recognizes from his own culture, reading material (for the older child) which is based on experiences familiar to the child, using referents from the child's own culture in teaching basic concepts, etc. Fillmore (1977), however, suggets that outward manifestations of a culture may not be sufficient in themselves for establishing bicultural identity in the child:

> By scattering ethnic art about in the classroom, observering ethnic celebrations, serving ethnic food, and by including ethnic music and dance in the curriculum, program implementers believe that they have captured the essence of the culture and brought it into the classroom. There is much to be said for doing all of these things, obviously. They add richness to the classroom and enliven the curriculum. They do not, however, change the attitudes or interactional patterns which prevail in the classroom, and these are the most important aspects of the classrom culture (p. 18-19).

Fillmore (op.cit.) further suggests that bilingual classrooms in which the culture of the students is truly represented are relatively rare. One reason for this is that even in bilingual classrooms where teachers come from the same cultural groups as the students, they have often been socialized and educated through institutions representing the majority culture. As is sometimes the case in Sweden, home language teachers come from urban areas, where students come from rural villages. Although these problems are difficult to overcome, the presence of permanent staff in the

classroom representing the child's culture and language (or where this is impossible, parents or paraprofessionals from the minority community) appears to be highly important especially for the young child beginning school.

10.4 The Involvement of Parents in the Bilingual Education of the Child

Parental involvement is here referred to in two ways, i.e. focusing on parents' needs in order to enhance the child's development and using parents as resources in educational programs.

Although this is not always the case, programs in England seem to have focused more on the family (or more specifically, on the mother-child dyad) rather than on the child alone when considering the child's language learning than may be the case in Sweden. This can be seen, e.g., in relation to home visit programs, mother-toddler groups, neighborhood English classes which mothers and their young children attend together, and the coordination of programs for children with adult education services in the community. This of course may be related to the fact that mothers with young children traditionally stay at home to a greater extent than is the case in Sweden. The mother's sense of involvement in the child's development is especially important with regard to the immigrant child because the child is highly dependent upon the family for language input in the mother tongue. If mothers are socially isolated, unknowledgeable concerning their role as teachers of their children, unable to speak the majority language, etc., they may be poorly motivated to act as good language models for their children.

Although the involvement of parents in bilingual programs in England is impossible to assess due to the scarcity of such programs, the importance of using parents as resources (in relation to the home culture information about the country of origin, and the minority language) was emphasized in some programs. The author is currently carrying out a review of bilingual programs in the United States at the preschool level[1] and it has been recognized that in the majority of bilingual programs, an active component of parental involvement is seen as essential to the program's success. Involvement in this sence refers to classroom visits by parents, auxiliary classes for parents in e.g. language lessons, child development, consumer issues, etc., and the involvement of parents in an advisory

[1] This material is expected to be published during June, 1982

capacity. This is seen as important both for the former reason, i.e., helping parents to recognize and develop their roles as teachers of their children as well as for the need of relating the program to the surrounding community.

Finally, it should be recognized that all of the above areas must be considered in the education of the linguistic minority group child. The child's learning of the mother tongue, majority language, and its cultural heritage, an increased sensitivity toward and acceptance of a culturally pluralistic society by all pupils, recognizing parents' needs, and defining programs in relation to the surrounding community cannot be seen in isolation from one another but must be integrated into a total approach.

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APPENDIX

PERSONS VISITED

Mr. Andre Farrant, Schools Council, London	The Schools Council is the curriculum development center of the Department of Education and Science.
Mr. David Houlton, Centrer for Urban Educational Studies, London	Director of the Schools Council Mother Tongue Teaching Project.
Dr. Verity Kahn, Institute of Education, University of London	Director of the Linguistic Minorities Project.
Mrs. Jane Miller/Prof. Harold Rosen, Institute of Education, University of London	Professor Rosen earlier directed a project studying ethnic diversity in London schools. He was unavailable for an interview, but Mrs. Jane Miller, also doing research on bilingualism, informed me about the study.
Mrs. Cynthia James, Nursery Inspector, Inner London Education Authority	Advisor in questions concerning nursery school education.
Mrs. Joyce Lucus, La Sainte Union College, Southampton	Headteacher at the nursery school at L.S.U.C., which is a teacher training college. Has written a book on the playgroup movement scheduled for publication during the fall, 1981.
Mrs. Siân Munro, School of Speech Therapy, South Glamorgan Institute of Higher Education, Cardiff	Teaches a course in bilingualism/ carrying out research on communication disorders in bilingual children.
Dr. Eurwen Price, NFER office Department of Education, University College of Swansea, Wales	Has carried out a number of research projects investigating bilingual education in Wales.
Mr. Brian Jones, Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin (Movement for Welsh Medium Pre-School Education), Cardiff	National director of a movement promoting Welsh medium education at the preschool level.
Mrs. Arvill Jones, Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin (Movement for Welsh Medium Pre-School Education), Cardiff	A local advisor in the above organization.

Dr. Bob Jones, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth	Carrying out research in language and concept development in young Welsh-/English-speaking children and in mothers' speech to children.
Mrs. Pam Bradley, Schools Division, Bradford	Multiethnic Affairs Officer at nursery and primary school level.
Farnham Road Language Center, Headteacher	The language center is one of 12 centers in Bradford for the teaching of English to Asian children.
Mrs. Linda Chapman, Grange Road First School, Bradford	Headteacher at a primary school having a high concentration of Asian children.
Dr. Olav Rees, Postgraduate School of Studies in Research in Education, University of Bradford	Co-director of Mother Tongue and English Teaching Project in Bradford.

Valuable comments as well as research papers were also obtained from the following persons: Dr. Silvaine Wiles, Director of the Language Division, Center for Urban Educational Studies (Inner London Education Authority); Dr. Arturo Tosi, Oxford Polytechnic; and Dr. Godfrey Harrison, University College, Cardiff.

University of London Institute of Education
Director: William Taylor, BScEcon, PhD, DSc, Litt.D, FCCEA, FCP
Deputy Director: Professor Denis Lawton, BA, PhD

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GENERAL INFORMATION SHEET

THE LINGUISTIC MINORITIES PROJECT

The project is based at the Institute of Education, London University, and is funded by the Department of Education and Science. It has a three-year duration and started on 1st September 1979. Its team of five researchers were joined in January 1981 by the Language Information Network Co-ordinator (LINC), whose work is funded for two years by the Commission of the European Communities.

The overall aim of the project is to provide an account and analysis of the changing patterns of bilingualism in several regions of England. The project covers a range of minority languages, including those from South and Eastern Europe, South and East Asia. The research is being carried out among children, young people and adults both in and out of school. The work in schools will involve collaboration between the L.M.P. and about 8 Local Education Authorities. New approaches to the dissemination of the project's findings will be assessed among all these categories of people.

The multi-disciplinary research team is using a variety of approaches, including sociolinguistic surveys and more detailed studies of patterns of language use and language attitudes. The Schools Language Survey documents the range of linguistic diversity among all school children in a Local Education Authority and the extent of literacy in the minority languages. The Secondary Pupils' Survey allows a more detailed look at the language use and perception of language among secondary school children. The project is also collaborating on the preparation of a Mother Tongue Teaching Directory, collecting information on the existing provision for minority language teaching. This includes a small amount of teaching within the mainstream school system and an increasing amount of provision organised out of regular school time by the minorities themselves. The Adult Language Use Survey involves the use of bilingual interviewers from the different linguistic minorities interviewing a sample of adults in their mother tongue and/or English. This survey looks at language skills and learning history, literacy, language use in the household, at work, in the community and attitudes towards language teaching provision. More detailed case studies will focus on particularly interesting linguistic and educational questions studied in specific local contexts.

The Linguistic Minorities Project aims to develop and assess varied methodologies for the study of the processes of language change and shift. It hopes to stimulate further research and to contribute to thinking on both practical and theoretical issues in the fields of education and language. The project will also look at the networks of information and problems of communication within the area of multi-cultural education.

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Language Information Network Co-ordinator: Xavier Couillaud)
Language Information Network Secretary: Judy Tasker) Ext. 266/645

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